1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

63
184 variation and specialization do exist even though there are few sharp boundary lines. There is one regular social event
224 which reflects and intensifies regional cultural and social inter-
628 connection; this event is an annual hunt followed by a large all-male gathering outside some village where performances largely humorous and/or "obscene" (in their eyes as well as mine) take place. The participants consist of teams generally from several villages within a vicinity, and they compete with other similarly constituted teams for the favor of the assembled
[273] throng. Like many such gatherings, it terminates with rice beer.

In most of the territory occupied by the southern Santal, game is so scarce that the hunting aspect of this yearly event has become *pro forma.* After the hunt and its rituals, the various teams proceed in a march-dance parade through different villages as they make their way toward the final gathering place
[534] where performances will be held. Vigorous drum-beating marks
[535] the progress of their procession, and the characteristic Santal male strutting in dance is particularly pronounced. Any game
[192] that has been shot is borne aloft on pole stretchers. The entire event is known as *Sendra.*

[692] Several of my informants as well as the literature maintain that serious discussions of Santal customs and even settling of disputes that have escaped solution within the judicial units occur after the hunt. This was not the case at the one *Sendra* I attended. However this may be, the *Sendra* remains the largest and territorially the widest gathering of Santal, sometimes bringing together more than a thousand Santal living within a radius of about fifty miles.

596 Still to be considered are the intertwined components of the
592 extended and nuclear family. The term "extended family" is unfortunately one which has often been used very loosely; it

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

177 439 [286] [323] [534] Although the Santal used to do some weaving and pottery-making, they have traditionally obtained almost everything except foodstuffs and a few forest products from neighboring tribal or Hindu peoples. Even the drums and the flutes which are so integrated in the "pleasure" complex are invariably purchased from Hindu specialists. Furthermore, elite borrowings have often become "naturalized," i.e., accepted as Santal and then widely adopted so as to close the gap. Nevertheless, emulation of Hindus did not always go unnoticed and it will be recalled that there is evidence of resistance to such Hinduization.

177 197 [601] [614] The many Hindu cognates in this text give some indication of the extent of linguistic borrowing. Only a few Santal kin terms are of non-Indo-European origin, and the system of dyadic relations among kin is very much like that of the Hindus; one of the largest clans, Hansdak', has a name clearly of Indo-European origin (*hans* = duck in Santali and Hindi), but one also notes the syncretism with the non-Indo-European [538] (*dak'* = water in Santali). Even parts of the Rāmāyaṇa are sung in Santali and on occasion the Santal are allowed to enter the tale. Considering the prevalence of "parochialization" and "universalization" in India,[20] it is possible that some of what is common to the two cultures is of Santal origin. But the heavy incorporation of vocabulary clearly of Indo-European origin suggests that the flow was largely from the Hindus to the Santal.

177 178 184 Prior to industrial employment in this century a small cultural gap separated the elite and common Santal. Though there was some differential emulation of Hinduism it was largely of isolated traits which often became naturalized, and the basic "pleasure" orientation of the Santal was hardly altered.

[20] Marriott 1955:211.

[P. 44 is blank]

2; Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

585 [764] brought there, this they also offer to him. The anointing girls now carry the bridegroom on their hip to the end of the village street and set him down there, and from there they return home. The marriage-broker conducts the bridegroom's party to the bride's home, carrying a kettle-drum along. Nowadays they go taking with them big drums, trumpets, horns, tubas, [534] [178] cornets, palanquins, rockets, catherine-wheels, bombs, guns, and so on, that is to say, wealthy people do this; but such things were not used formerly, and we did not employ Doms to drum.

When the bridegroom's party reach the bride's village, they call a halt at the entrance to the village street. The marriage-broker goes to the bride's home and says to them: We have arrived; if there is anything you have not got ready, finish it quickly. They answer him: We [302] are ready. The Jog Mañjhi now at once sends the Goḍet to summon the village people. They come there; they anoint themselves with oil and turmeric, beer they also drink, and all married women apply sindur[35] to themselves, but not spinsters, divorced ones, or widows.

Now the Jog Mañjhi makes the Goḍet carry a vessel with water on his shoulder, and he himself carries a loṭa with water, standing on a leaf-plate, kept on the palm of his hand turned upwards; they both go to the bridegroom's party, who have been dancing in the meantime. Seeing the Jog Mañjhi they stop. The Jog Mañjhi and the Goḍet say: Please, friends, drink water. The Jog Mañjhi hands the loṭa with water to the bridegroom's party; they receive it with both hands; thereupon they salute each other, and the bridegroom's party drink.

Thereupon the bride's mother, carrying on the up-turned palm of her hand a loṭa with water and a leaf-cup with molasses standing on a brass-plate, conducts the bride's party and the anointing girls on the bride's side and the women of the village to the end of the village street to meet the bridegroom with water. When they have reached there, she says to the marriage-broker: Bring the bridegroom here, we shall give them molasses to eat and water to drink. When the bridegroom's party and the bride's party have greeted each other and thus become one party, they dance. The marriage-broker says to the bride's mother: Look here, this one is the bridegroom. He salutes his mother-in-law and also a couple of the women. When the other women and the anointing girls see the bridegroom, [539] they sing a number of abusive songs:

To-day, they say, to-day he will come, to-morrow, they say, to-morrow he will come;
How big a wealthy man's son is he, that we must wait until midnight?

Thy mother made friends with a dog,
Thy mother made friends with a cat.
Fie, fie, to a bastard,
My daughter I do not give.[37]

[302]

[35] The sindur, the blood-red vermilion, is applied to the forehead at the parting of the hair, just enough to show that the lady has a husband living. A Hindu custom. [37] These two verses are in a kind of Bihari; the following verses are all in Santali.

2; Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

the head, tie the rice up in their cloth, take the salt and turmeric in their hands, and they are off to their lodgings. This all of the bridegroom's party eat. 585

Now the Jog Mãñjhi takes the head of the castrated goat that they killed a while ago, and one seer rice to the bridegroom's party and says to them: You, the bridegroom's party, a while ago you went to pluck vegetables; as you know, you forgot the basket and left it; look here, we are bringing it to you. They cook a hash of the goat's head and the rice and divide it among themselves, and put five portions aside for the Jog Mãñjhi, who afterwards takes this away for himself. When he has given over the goat's head and left it with them, he takes five persons with him to the bride's home. These drink a pot of beer at the bride's paternal grandmother's; when they have done this, they go over to the bride's maternal grandmother and there drink another pot of beer; when this is done, they get one full pot of beer, twelve seers of parched and flattened rice, and one solid brass necklet and take this with them to their lodgings.

Thereupon the Jog Mãñjhi goes to the lodgings and gets the five portions of the hash. He says to all of the bridegroom's party: Come along to the village headman to pay the marriage-shed money. The bridegroom's party put a pot squeezed-out beer in a sling and first-class beer in a loṭa and take this along, and the Jog Mãñjhi conducts them to the village headman; and the bridegroom's party drum a kettle-drum as they go along. They reach the headman's house, where they spread out straw in the cow-shed, on which they let the bridegroom's party sit down. [534]

The bridegroom's party then say to the headman: Please, Sir village headman, call the village people together; we cannot possibly do it alone. Then they call all the village people together, men and women. The Jog Mãñjhi then says: Please, Father headman, now, you know, you are mother and father, please ask the friends for us, how they are. The village headman then commences:[39]

Well then, Father headman, the two, husband and wife, a coveted boy, food and wealth, male and female servants, female agricultural servants and labourers, forefathers and ancestors, grandfathers and fathers, father's younger brothers uncles, nephews and nieces, younger brothers and daughters, a house with rice, a house with water, cattle and sheep and goats, the mother's property, the wife's property, clothes and ornaments, body and soul, earth below, cold water, (on the other side of) one river sixteen kos, to this place we do not go and come: is it well with us all or not, Sir? The headman's deputy also speaks in the same way. Thereupon the village headman and his deputy ask the bridegroom's party, the friends: How is it, Sir, have you come to get as far as here, or how far are you going? The bridegroom's party answer: Up to here we have manifolded our steps,

[39] What the village headman starts saying is a rattling enumeration of what is deemed belonging to a prosperous family, partly Bihari, partly Santali words. The purpose of the following conversation seems to be the wish to have an agreed statement of what has led up to the marriage, and that it is in customary order.

Those among the bridegroom's party who wish now go to the young people of the village and dance with them under the marriage-shed the whole night; they drum the dancing-drum and sing a good deal. The old men of the bridegroom's side say to the young men of their party, before they go to dance: Dance, young fellows, just dance, but don't touch anything; they impose fines. People who go in a bridegroom's party cannot flirt with the girls of the bride's village; if they do, they punish them very severely. On the other hand even if a young man of the bride's people flirt with the girls of the bridegroom's village, they do not make much of this. 585 [535] [534]

The next morning the Jog Mañjhi goes to the lodgings of the bridegroom's party and asks them: How is it, honoured bridegroom's party, have you had your midday-meal or not? They answer him: A while ago we have had our meal and been strengthened, and your portion we have kept for you; please be quick and send us off. They then give into his charge the big and the small earthenware pots and his five portions of food. Thereupon the bridegroom's party at once send some forerunners off in advance to their home. The Jog Mañjhi then conducts the bridegroom's party to the bride's home. The bridegroom's party dance in the street outside the bride's home.

The Jog Mañjhi thereupon goes in and says to the bride's parents: Please anoint the bride and the bridegroom with oil and turmeric; find me five young men to follow the bride, and one elderly duenna. The anointing girls anoint the bride and the bridegroom; they bring the followers of the bride and the old duenna. Then the Jog Mañjhi says: Well, let them eat and strengthen themselves. Thereupon they give the bride and the bridegroom and the bride's male followers and the old duenna food, and they eat.

Thereupon the Jog Mañjhi says to all these: Well, make yourselves ready, I shall bring the bride and the bridegroom out. While they are making themselves ready, the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride's parents: Please get me one wooden pestle, having covered the ferrule with leaves. They bring him this, and he gives it into the charge of the bride's brother. Now the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride's mother: Please arrange molasses and water in lotas and brass-cups and find a mat. The bride's mother answers him: We are all ready. Saying this she puts about one seer of paddy into a fold of the bride's cloth. The Jog Mañjhi then says: Why, where is the beer for the Mañjhi haram? They hand him this in a small pot with a cover. Taking this in his hand he says to them all: Come along, let us go out. While they are going out, the bride turns round and shakes the paddy that was put in a fold of her cloth out in the door-opening of the house, salutes it and goes away. Thereupon they go to the Mañjhi than. The bridegroom's party also go there together with the others.

The bridegroom's party are dancing, and the Jog Mañjhi pours out the beer as a libation to the dead Mañjhi haram. As he makes the libation to him, he makes an invocation: As is seen here, Mañjhi haram, I give thee, hand thee this for the sake of good-bye being [782]

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

V. HUSBAND AND WIFE IN THEIR OWN HOME

a. Setting up a household.

When husband and wife have been separated from his parents, they set up a household for themselves. They ask the village headman to get a house-site. They give him beer and food. The husband cuts trees and brings them from the forest; he cuts thatching grass in the forest, or buys it from somewhere. He fixes nine posts in the ground; thereupon he puts up three roof-beams; at three places he fixes double cross-beams, he fixes forty rafters, and in three places, at the top, in the middle, and at the bottom of these, he puts cross-laths. Thereupon he makes the rafter-framework and after this thatches. Then he makes a wattle and daub wall; having done this he puts up something to keep separate the place for the ancestors. The wife then kneads earth and smears this on; afterwards she fills the house inside with earth and plasters all smooth, and she makes a fire-place. The husband makes a door, of wood or of thin bamboo-slips. In the house they have two bedsteads, a wooden mortar and pestle, a winnowing-fan, baskets, brooms, earthenware vessels, big and small, ladles made of wood or of pumpkin-shell, kodali axe, chisel, adze, sickle, knife, plough-beam, yoke, plough and plough-share, flute, bow and arrows, battle-axe, sword and dancing-drum and kettle-drum. Poor people have no battle-axe, sword, dancing-drum, or kettle-drum.

342 592 35 592 [41] [534]

The sacred closet is for the ancestors to stay hidden in. Women belonging to other men are not permitted to go in there; and some people do not permit even their own daughters to go in there, that is, when they have been married. In this closet they make a small enclosure, and this is the real place for the ancestors to stay hidden in. In the closet money is also kept. On the backside of the house they have the homestead field; here they cultivate maize. And in front of the house towards the village street they have the court-yard. This they fence securely in on the four sides. They make two openings for going out and in, one is the homestead field door and one the village street door.

353 769 351

The man builds a shed for the cows and bullocks and buffaloes, a fold for the goats and sheep and a sty for the pigs. The fowls and the cat stay in the house, and the dog stays somewhere on the verandah, to guard the house.

231 343

2; Skrefsrud M-3 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

VII. CONCERNING PLEASURE AND JOY

181 To forget care and anxiety we have pleasure and joy: Dancing, singing, drumming the
517 dancing-drum and the kettle-drum, blowing the flute and the horn, playing the fiddle, folk-tales, stories and conundrums, hunting in the forest, catching fish, and beer drinking. Also metaphorical speech will bring pleasure; but this is to tutor people, we use it mostly in connexion with serious work.

a. Singing and dancing.

533 We have very many kinds of dances, and in connexion with the separate dances we
535 also have songs. In connexion with dancing and singing we drum the dancing-drum and the kettle-drum, and we blow the flute. The names of our dances and songs are the following: lagṛē, dǫṅ, guluṣri, ḍahar, baha, riṅjạ, bhinsạr, jhikạ, humṭi, guṅjạr, sǫhrae, lǫbǫe, and duṅgeṛ. Dances without songs: the sword dance, the Dom dance, and lạuṛiạ. And songs without dancing are: forest songs, marriage recitation songs, folk-tale songs, rice-planting songs, and dirges. We blow the horn, for pleasure, at the
534 Flower festival and during the hunt without any dancing. We play the fiddle with all songs. We make the flutes of hollow bamboo, called bar laṅga bamboo. The horn we make of the buffalo-cow's horn and of the horn of the buffalo, and also of the horn of the Black Buck. The fiddle they make of wood or of a pumpkin shell, and on this they put a string of catgut, only one, and having strung horse-tail hair on a bow they fiddle; on the hair of the fiddle bow they apply salga[1] raisin; then only it sounds. The kettle-drum they make of an iron frame which they cover with buffalo skin. The dancing-drum they make with a cylindrical earthenware frame and cover it with skin of goats, etc.

535 Lagṛē, guluṣri, and humṭi they dance at any time, the flower dance only at the Flower festival; the sǫhrae, matwar, and guṅjạr dances they dance at the Sohrae festival; riṅjạ and bhinsạr they dance at the Karam festival; dǫṅ they dance at marriages and at the Chạṭiạr festivals; ḍahar they dance during the hot season, only girls; jhikạ they dance at the Chạṭiạr, the Dom dance at marriages; and pạk dǫn (the sword dance) and lạuṛiạ they dance at Sohrae and Sakrat, men only; lǫbǫe they dance at the Durga festival, and duṅgeṛ they dance when they spend the night at the

[1] Boswellia thurifera, Colebrooke.

hunt.

2; Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

f. Hunting.

224 The great joy of us men is the hunt. From olden times we have continually been hunting, and in however great a danger we may fall, still we do not give up hunting. And if a person will not go, we despise such people and call them women. Our ancestors have fought tigers and bears with great courage; sometimes the tigers and bears have gained the upper hand, and sometimes the men, and so it is going on until the present day.

178 203 224 793 796 In former times they used to announce the hunt by sending a branch from village to village, by stages; but since our stay in Sikhar we notify the day at the Pata (the hook-swinging festival)[6]. As there is a village priest and a priest of the outskirts in the village, there is similarly a dihri (hunt-priest) for the hunt. There is one hunt-priest for every single country. He carries the branch round at the Pata; the people of the country then ask him: In connexion with what is your branch, Sir? He then tells them the name of the forest: In such and such a forest, on such and such a day, at such and such a place we shall meet. He also tells them where they will spend the night. When we come home, we men in the village tell each other the news, saying: At such and such a date they are to hunt through such and such a forest or over such and such a hill. The man of the village then get their different hunting implements together, they string their bows, fix the iron arrow-heads and the blunt arrow-heads in the arrows, they grind the iron arrow-heads and make them sharp-pointed, they grind their battle-axes sharp and give them a handle; they put the spear-heads on the shafts, and the swords they polish bright. They tell the women to prepare dough-balls of Mahua for food, and they make them pound rice to have to take along with them. The village headman has to give five half-seers of rice and one small bundle of Mahua as hunt-bounty. This the hunting men eat, or if some poor men have nothing, they let them have a sufficiency of this. The village priest sacrifices five fowls for the sake of the hunt.

224

[782]

When the fixed day is reached, a couple of men go at cock-crow in advance out to an open plain to bring the whole male village population together there; they also take kettle-drums and flutes and horns along with them; and until the village men have all come out, they beat the kettle-drums rat-a-tat, blow the flute harmoniously, and blow the horns tootingly, and they sing any amount of forest songs sweetly. When they have all assembled, they shout with one voice together; thereupon they go to the place where they are to meet. Here they eat their noon meal. One after the other the people of the country come and assemble there; the hunt-priest has been there from cock-crow.

[534]

224 787 Until the people of the country arrive, the hunt-priest makes a divination about good or bad happenings. If he gets anything bad in any direction, he calls the country people

[6] The Pata should be held on the last day of Cet, about the 15th of April; among the people living in the Santal Parganas it may be held any day during Baisak (middle of April to middle of May). The dihri has a sal-branch with as many leaves as there are days remaining before the hunt is to take place.

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

796
539

The dove is always on the move,
The crow is eating with legs spread out,
The young servant of the headman's family
To-morrow he will go out;
The servant girl of the deputy headman's family,
Later in the day she will come out.

At the cow-shed of people who have buffalo cows they sing the praise of these differently, when they perform the waving ceremony:

Whose cows are these? the cows are shining white.
Whose buffalo cows are these? the buffalo cow is black and bulky.

The cows of so and so, the cows are shining white.
The buffalo cows of so and so, the buffalo cow is black and bulky.

The leg of the buffalo cow is thick and fat,
The leg of the green dove is covered with feather low down.

These ones went to the Sidegor forest,
These ones went to the Manegor forest.

Do, you so and so, turn them round,
Do, you so and so, turn them round back.

In the Sidegor forest, mother, is the tiger,
In the Manegor forest is the young leopard.

These will graze making scratching sounds in the straw pins,
The saline soil you will clear quickly.

The young men finish blessing the cattle, and the girls also bring the waving ceremony to an end; thereupon they all wander in the village street and sing; they drum the dancing-drum and the kettle-drum, and blow the flute, that is to say, the young men do this and the girls beat the cymbals and dance, they make a tremendous din and noise. [533] [534]

At cockcrow the young men again bless the cattle once, and following after them the girls perform the waving ceremony. The young men sing[10]:

The cock has crowed,
It has dawned.
Get up, my son, to let the cattle out to graze.
Get up, my son, to let the cattle out to graze.

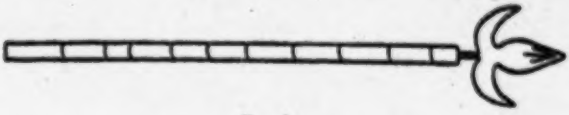
[10] In correct Bihari.

3t Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

triangular iron. Big games are hunted with the aid 411
of the battle-axe, commonly known as "tangi"

Tangi

(Santali, *kapi*) and a spear, called "borolam," a trident like weapon fitted into a solid bamboo,

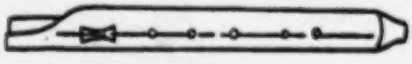


Borolam

about five feet in height. (See illustrations.)

Musical Instruments

Fond of music as they are, the Santals have 534
several kinds of musical instruments. It is a fre-

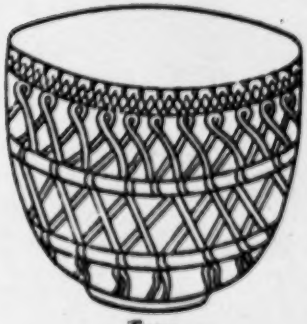


Bamboo flute

quent sight to see them passing by you playing on a bamboo flute, a strange enervating melody. (See

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4, 6 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

534 illustration). Their kettle-drums are huge affairs weighing from half a maund to thirty seers. All this weight of the "tama" (*Kettle-drum* ; Hindi, *nagera*) is carried by one man on his neck, while he beats on a vellum of leather about five cubits in circumference, the average height being a cubit and a half. (See illustration). A third musical mechanism of the Santal orchestra, the "buan," is made of a piece of thin bamboo on the half of a hollow gourd; the strings made of sinews of cattle, are struck with a small stick while the open end of the gourd is placed against the stomach. Another instrument under this head, the "sògòe," is made by splitting a piece of bamboo into as many thin slips as possible leaving sufficient space unsplit by which to hold it. A notched stick is then inserted between the slips and worked backwards and forwards like a fiddle-bow, each slip into which the bamboo is split producing a sound.[1]



Tama

1 Dr. Campbell, *Santali to English Dictionary*, pp. 85 and 606.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 6 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

881 304 [801] that the first sign means *Iìòn* (life) and the next *Màròn* (death), the third *Iìòn* and the fourth *Màròn* and so on. He does not, one can easily guess why, want to close with death. So he hits upon an odd number of *Sika* marks, which will ensure him "life". [975] If this ceremony is not performed, the Santal believes that in his life hereafter, huge worms shaped like their giant drums (*tumdak'*)[1] will sit on his lap and eat him up. No particular religious ceremony, however, attends the *Sika*, which is confined to men only. The women generally wear tattoo marks on their palms, arms and some on their breasts.

Tattoo marks on women (or K'hoda)

Santal women, in Mayurbhanj, generally wear several tattoo marks on wrists, near the end of their forearm and on the chest. As regards the nature of these marks, there is nothing special to the Santals to connect these with their traditional history, as has been traced concerning the Kharias. The characteristic common design was found to be that of the sun, amongst a variety of birds and other

[534] 1 Ref. Tumdak', a kind of drum. The body of the drum is of burnt clay, the end beaten by the left hand is of bullock's hide, and that beaten by the right hand is of goat's skin, the whole is laced with strips of bullock's hide. (page 676, Dr. Campbell's *Santali to English Dictionary*.)

31 Mukherjea O, Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

pestilence and epidemics affecting the Santals may be got rid of; and they reply in their hypnotic spell, suggesting ways out of the problems. On the conclusion the village-priest asks the Santals impersonating the deities to leave the grove.

On the morning of the second day, called *Sardi*, the *Godet* collects rice and chicken from all the houses. If a dance is decided upon, men and women go to the *Jahérthan* (Holy Grove), dancing and singing all the way with cymbal and kettle-drum accompaniments with the *Naeke* (priest) at the head, carrying the things procured by him on the previous day together with a pot of rice-beer. Closely following the priest, goes a bachelor youth with an earthen pitcher. Thus they reach the Holy Grove and clean the spot with cow-dung. Now the priest reaps some paddy from a field he chooses, and offers them with the prayers we have noted while describing *Janthar* festival in the other Santal areas. Fowls are sacrificed to the five gods, and the Boundary deity is propitiated by the priest at a separate place with offerings of rice-beer. All these over, the women return home. Men stay on and prepare the tribal dinner which they eat by the afternoon. The priest himself cooks near the shrine of Jahèr era. He offers the meal to the five deities of the grove and eats the lot himself.

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

On the *ḍaṅ* swings along,
(Sir) Bhòkta merrily tossed.

The joy of Santalia during such festivals knows no bounds. Large batches of men and women go from place to place. The men play on pipes. The women decorate their hair with beautiful flowers and entwine their arms round one another's shoulders. The kettle-drums, the cymbals and the wine, produce an atmosphere in which these simple people forget their mundane existence in the pursuit of their primitive practices and observances. The *joie de vivre* is reflected in the following song in which a woman requests her sister to accompany her to witness the *Pata* festival for three days to their heart's content.[1]

Cetan disòmrè pè maha jagròn pata hoyok' ;
Dara ge didi ge sòngè jaibò,
Pè maha jagròn sòbay jaybò.

Translation :—

In the uplands for three days they keep awake
for the Pata ;
O sister, do wait for me, I shall go with you ;
For three nights they keep awake ; we all
shall go.

1 Quoted and adapted from the author's article "Santal Folk-Poetry" published in the *New Review*, September, 1936.

Jt Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1952
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

offers pujas to the presiding deity of the hill. Vermilion and red fowls are offered to the gods together with sun-dried rice and incense. As the fowls are sacrificed, the blood is poured on the sun-dried rice and offered to the other gods of the locality in their names. The head of the fowl lies on the ground and the body is kept for the meal of the *Dibri*. Next the *Dibri* salutes the deity by prostrating himself fully on the ground and thus invokes him:—

We are hunting in this jungle.
Let the hunting be safe.
Let us hunt in plenty.
Let not lions and tigers kill us.
Let no serpent bite us.

Now the news is conveyed by blowing a horn called *Sakwa* made of the horn of a *Gayal* (a species of ox, *Bos frontalis*). All men begin beating the jungle. The hunting goes on as musical instruments like the *Nagera*, *dhak*, *dhor* (small drum), *jharli* (a bell), cymbal are played upon by a band of musicians. The *Nagera* sounds "dubuń, dubuń, dubuń" but when the animals approach with a swift motion, it is changed to "dhibi, dhibi, dhibi." All men become aware of the advancing games. Starting approximately at 10 A.M., the hunt continues upto sunset, with bows and arrows, *tangis*, swords, *kapi* and *borolam* as weapons.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

224
[796]

[793] of the forest where the hunt is to be held, to ensure
[782] success and safety. After performance of the ceremony
[411] the whole party enters the forest with bows and
[534] arrows, Pellet bows (Gorkhas), Slings (Gaduar), Tangha (Kopi), battle axes, dogs and Tamuka (drums) and Sakuas (Blowpipe made of buffalo horn) which they beat and blow furiously all through the hunt.

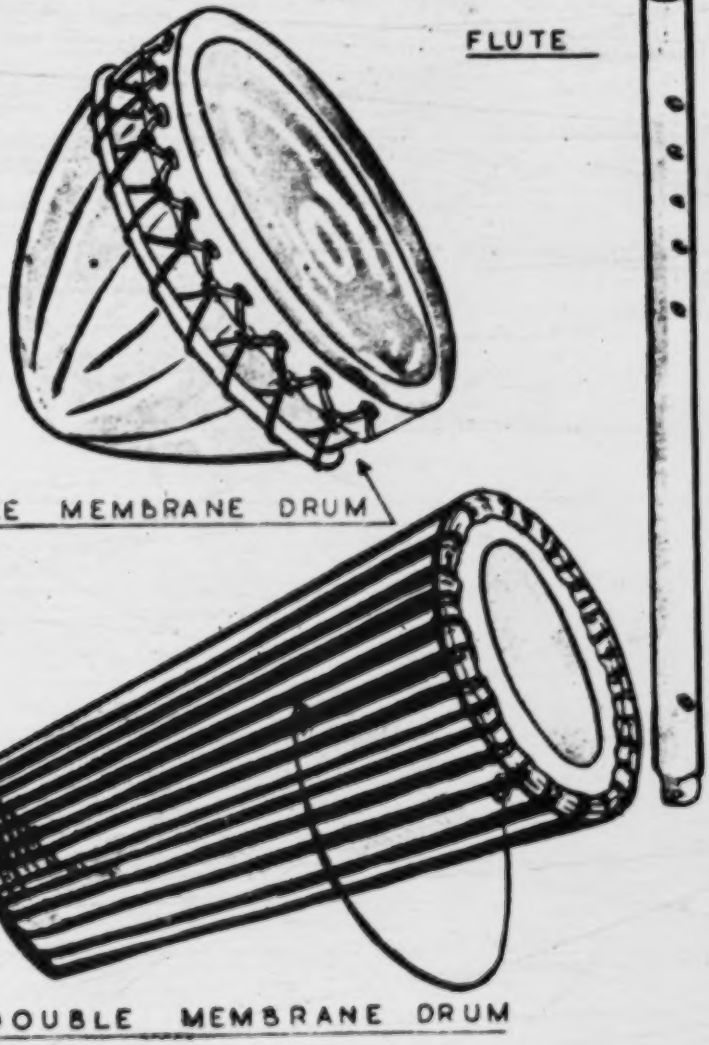
In the forest they stand side by side in a long line surrounding an area. Some remain ready with their weapons behind the big trees, the drums and blowpipes of horn they beat and blow furiously. The men nearest to the game shoot their arrows at them; when the animals being frightened run hither and thither, men shoot arrows, sling stones and tanghas at them. If the game elude the arrows and other weapons shot or hurled at them, the baffled hunts-men shout out and let their dogs run after them. The men, who stand in line, then entangle the game and the hunters who followed the game come up and
[114] kill them. Once when I was at Bokrabandh and Katahaldih I saw the Santal process of catching hares and ichneuman The Santals barricade a meadow, which is just by the side of a forest, with branches of trees and bamboos, only keeping open the side which is towards the forest. They keep an opening on one side where they fix a trap. They drive the hares from the jungle towards the place which is surrounded by the branches. The hares run towards the trap and fall into it. They kill ichneuman in the following way. The inchneuman remains under the ground and some dig holes, while others remain ready with Tanghis. As soon as it comes out they strike or throw Tanghis

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

[facing P. 46]

• 534

[284]



4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

301 women. Small rings made of silver are worn by the Santal women on one side of the nose, on the other side of the nose they fix a flat ornament made of silver. A brass or sometimes silver anklet of peculiar shape is 301 worn by them. Every Santal girl wears flowers in her 302 coiffure and over her ears. They comb their hair very neatly by applying mustard or mowa oil.

DANCES AND MUSIC

• 534 **Musical Instrument :-** The Santals possess very little in the way of musical instruments. The (Tamuk) Tum tum is their chief musical instrument, it consists of a hollow cylinder of wood with one end covered with cow or buffalo hide and the other end with goat skin. A drummer with his instrument slung across his chest slaps the Tum tum with his fingers, a double beat being [439] the signal for them to turn. This is not their own preparation, they buy it from the Chamars. They beat another kind of drum which is quite different from the Tum tum in form and preparation. The body of the drum is semicircular and is made of iron, the open end is covered with cow hide. They beat this drum with sticks in both the hands. They have a flute made of bamboo, the length of it is about one foot and the diameter is one inch. The bucks blow it by holding it horizontally. They have a buffalo-horn trumpet (which they call Sakua). It is about one foot in length, in its middle a small aperture is made. This is sounded by blowing air through the aperture to which the lips are tightly pressed. The air current in passing throws the edges of the lips into vibration (the lips being elastic membrane), the lips performing a function analogous to that of a valve which in rapid alteration allows and

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

checks the free passage of an air current. The note produced can be varied within harmonic limits by the action of the lips. The Santals have string instruments also. In their instrument only one string is used which is of gut. The frame-work of it consists of a box-like resonator, hollowed out and covered with goat skin. This goat skin is fixed to it by means of small pins of bamboo. The string is attached at one end to the neck and at the other to the distal end of the resonator. The string has a tuning peg and a wooden bridge for regulating its tension. The dancing-drum (Tumdak) has a slightly conical body of burnt clay; the body is covered with patches of strips of bullock-hide wound tightly round it; both ends are covered with skin, the broad end generally with bullock-hide, the narrow end with the skin of goat. Both ends are laced with strips of bullock-hide, stretched from end to end close together. These strips make the instrument much stronger, and they are placed close together to prevent the clay body from being easily touched The ends are given a rim of boiled rice spread over the surface in circular form, often painted black with a red and white ring outside. The Tumdak is carried over the shoulder in leather thongs, the broad end always to the left side. It is drummed with the hands, the broad end with the left hand and the narrow end with the right hand.

Dancing :- The Santals love dancing very much and every evening the boys and maidens gather on a reserved open space in front of Jog-manjhis house for dancing. Males and females both dance together, though at times they dance separately. The maidens during dancing smooth and adjust their long hair and

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

[facing P. 48]

• 534

POLY CORD . STRINGED INSTRUMENT

HORN TRUMPET

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

Baha Parab. Next in importance is the *Baha parab* which is held in the Bengali month Phalgun (February-March). This festival takes place when the sal trees (shorea robusta) begin to flower. *Baha* is a Santali word which means flower. The purpose of holding this festival is that the new year is well commenced. Drinking, dancing and singing go on in this festival also. The festival takes place in the *Jahersthan* and the *Naike* and *Kudum Naike* worship in the *Jahersthan*. On the first day of the festival the young people of the village build two sheds in *Jahersthan*, one for *Jaher-era, Turuko Morsko* and *Marang Buru* and the other for *Gosain era*. The *sthans* are cleaned by plastering with cowdung. Then they go to bathe and oil several articles (winnowing fan, basket, bow and arrows, battle-axe, broom, a wristlet, a necklace and bell and horn of a buffalo which they call *sahua*) which are to be used next day, when three persons become possessed by the three first bongas mentioned above. The whole night is spent in drumming at the house of the *Naike*, where all assemble with *bongas* (the persons who will be possessed with bongas are called *bongas*). Jaher-era is a female diety and a man who is possessed with this *bonga* takes the ornaments, the basket and the broom; *Morsko* takes the bow and arrow and *Marang Buru* carries the battle-axe. With these articles they start running for the *Jahersthan* followed by the boys who carry drums cymbals, bugle and bull-roarer. On arriving at the *Jahersthan, Jaher-era* sweeps the place; the *Naike* asks the *bongas* (i.e., those who are possessed with the deities) for the things they have brought and places them on a mat. He then asks them questions

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

that reason. Gradual deforestation and the absence of any effective protection for wild animals account for the present scarcity. Leopards, once present in great numbers, are now rare, though black bears are still relatively common. Some of the smaller kinds of Indian deer are found. It is many years since a tiger was killed in the Bankura district. Wild pigs are abundant, and so is the jungle hare, and there are many species of bird whose flesh is prized by the Santal. Every male of the tribe is an expert with the bow and arrow, and he is trained in its use from early childhood. The village parties hold together; they carry their own rations of rice and dried *matkom* cake for the night meal, and they are accompanied by their sleek and well-fed dogs. The men are dressed in loin-cloths, but they wear turbans roughly wrapped round their heads for protection against the heat of the sun. Some of the younger boys carry drums instead of weapons. The drums are used to swell the noise in the forest as the animals are driven closer towards the centre and to signal a kill, but they are also needed for the dancing that will follow. The flesh of the animals is distributed according to a regular code, though the rules are passing from use and now it is usual for the stronger of two parties to take the flesh of a kill when it is in dispute. The man who draws first blood receives the *madol*, consisting of one hind-leg, a part of which he must give to the headman of his village. If the man who first touches the animal belongs to a different village, he receives a shoulder; if it has been slain by yet another person than the one who drew first blood, the slayer receives five ribs, one fore-leg and the liver. The *dihri* receives the neck, and the remainder of the flesh goes to the co-villagers of the man who wounded the animal and not of the man who killed it. When the meat is distributed among the villagers, those who carry drums receive a double portion, and some of the meat is given to the dogs.

By evening several hundred men gather in the place where they are to spend the night. Camp fires are lit near some watercourse, and the moon rises slowly over the graceful palms that fringe the water and the belt of *sarjom* trees beyond. For some it is a night of hard work, for others it is a night of revelry. The elders from all the villages are gathered together for this one night during the year and form the supreme council of the tribe. The disputes which have baffled their several efforts in the course of the year are brought forward. Complaints involving members of more than one village are voiced and range

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

doubtful whether the concept of monotony has any place in a Santal's mind. His love of a *porob*, or festival, is a byword in the tribe, and it is fostered by many occasions in the Santal calendar as well as by opportunities for "seeing", as they say, Hindu festivals. Some of these gatherings bring together the Santals from great distances. One of the most remarkable in the area takes place on the outskirts of Sarenga at the time of the Lakshmi Puja, at the full moon of the Bengali month of *Kartlik* (October-November). This is a Hindu festival, and it is kept with due pomp and ceremony by the family of the local landlord, who is of a mercantile caste. This family built up the celebration by inviting their Santal tenants to come and dance on a field on the village boundary. For many years it has been of more than local significance. Villagers from ten to fifteen miles away turn up in force, and some come from much greater distances. Until the year 1930 they used to dance and sing throughout the night, and on one occasion a missionary counted over five hundred large drums. In the following year a small but determined group of Santal reformers, one of whose aims was to stop their womenfolk from dancing in public, practically brought the gathering to a standstill, but it was revived in 1932 in the modified form in which it continues. At about noon the air begins to resound to the beating of the drums as parties of villagers make their way along the roads and jungle tracks and approach the scene of the gathering. From the four corners of the compass they converge on the open field, men and women in festive attire, the women especially resplendent in new *saris* with gaily designed borders, their hair bedecked with flowers and their arms heavy with ornaments. The drumming intensifies as new parties arrive and more and more lines of dancers are formed. Finally the crescendo of sound from the drums batters on the ear-drums of the bystanders, and even at a distance of four miles it conveys an impression of continuous thunder in the sky. Then the clamour dies away as gradually as it began, and by nine o'clock the field is quiet once again. Since the night dancing was stopped the numbers have diminished slightly. Most of the parties return to their own villages and continue the dance there.

The weeks are enlivened by visits to the local markets. One of the entries in Babulal's record relates to a market day during the early hot weather: "Today was market day. From a very early hour everyone was preparing to go to market. It is very hot at the present time, and if we do not go early the

st Culshaw A1-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

CHAPTER 4

DANCING, MUSIC AND POETRY

THE word *ṛaska*, meaning "pleasure", is often on the lips of the Santals, and it is dear to their hearts. They turn from their difficulties and sorrows to find solace in one or other of the many ways in which they can experience *ṛaska*. Among these dancing is one of the most important. Their word for dancing is the same as that used for the play of children—*enee'*—and dancing is indeed the play of the tribe. In every village there is a dancing floor, an open space that is well cared for. At festival times it is swept and freshly plastered with cowdung by young unmarried girls, and when it is not in use for dancing it is the place where the young men gather in the evenings to discuss their affairs and interests.

Some of the dances are connected with particular festivals, and they are performed only at those times or during the whole of the month in which the festival takes place. There are other dances that are suitable at any time during the year. Some are dances for women alone and others for men alone, while in a few both men and women dance. The chief element of variety is introduced by means of varying the rhythm; to the casual observer most of the dances look the same. A group of men or of women dance together, forming a line with their arms linked, stepping sideways or forward and then backward, keeping time to the beating accompaniment of the drums, moving either in a circle or from one side of the dancing-floor to the other, and from time to time breaking out into song. Whenever there is an occasion for rejoicing there will be dancing. It is much in evidence during the celebrations and ceremonies after the birth of a child or at his fuller reception into the tribe, and again during marriage festivities. The general type of dance on all these occasions is known as *dou*, which has within it many variations. At these times it is the women who do the dancing, while the men furnish an accompaniment with drums and flutes, and many of the songs refer directly to the purpose for which the folk have gathered together. During marriage ceremonies the *bapla*, or type of dance specifically associated with marriages, is also in evidence. The *doñger* is the dance of the men on the night of the annual hunt. It is a wild type of dance, when there is much leaping in the air. Two of the young men stripped of clothing dance about in front of the lines, and the

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

535
[224]
[881]
796
• 534
[192]

SARPA

dances are preceded and ended by the shouting of obscene words. The Spring and the Harvest festivals possess their own cycle of songs and dances. During the latter the women make use of a musical instrument known as the *sarpa*, which is brought out only at this time. It is a percussion instrument that consists of a vertical pole about fifteen inches high fixed into two crossed horizontal pieces of wood. Holes are bored in the foot-long horizontal pieces, and through these holes pass lengths of string to the end of which are attached small circular wooden clappers. With the handle at the top of the vertical pole in the left hand and the upper end of the strings held in the right hand, the clappers can be drawn up sharply against the wooden bars, so producing a ringing sound. The workmanship of the *sarpas* varies; some are plain, while others display a handle carved in the shape of a dove and geometrical designs on the horizontal bars. The dancers form two lines; the older women [535] form a line in front and sing and dance with their arms linked. Behind them comes a line of younger women, some of them beating the *sarpas*, some with small brass cymbals, while the two women at the ends of the line wave the end of their *saris* to fan the others.

534 The *buaṅ*[1] is a musical instrument associated particularly [192] with the month that precedes that in which the Harvest festival [805] is celebrated. This is the month known as *Dāsāṛ*, from the Hindi word *dasserah*. The *buaṅ* belongs to a type of musical instrument with a wide distribution in different parts of the world. Its prototype existed when men first plucked the strings of their bows in order to hear a pleasing sound. To the arc of the bow a large hollow gourd is attached, and this adds resonance to the sound of the plucked bow string. The gourd is

[1] See illustration opposite.

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

decorated with paper streamers. One of the songs sung to the accompaniment of the *buan* is in honour of the instrument itself and recounts the birth and growth of the gourd on the manure heap. Some of the dances enact hunting scenes and fights with bow and arrow.

DUAŃ

During weddings and festivals the dancing takes place at night as well as in the daytime. Drink is plentiful, and the dance goes on until the moon is setting and the first light of morning appears in the sky. At these times dancing is associated with romance as well as with illicit flirtations and unions; amid the general rejoicing it is easy for couples to slip away unnoticed. Dancing, however, is not by any means confined to the more formal and set occasions. During the hot season in particular there is an almost nightly gathering in some part of the village, when the younger members of the community dance together. At these times the *lagre*, a simple dance, is much used. Of this there are many variations, and different varieties appear to be popular in different localities. One of the most popular in the area is a variety of *lagre* known as *porob*, which appears to be unknown elsewhere. These dances are suitable for any occasion.[1]

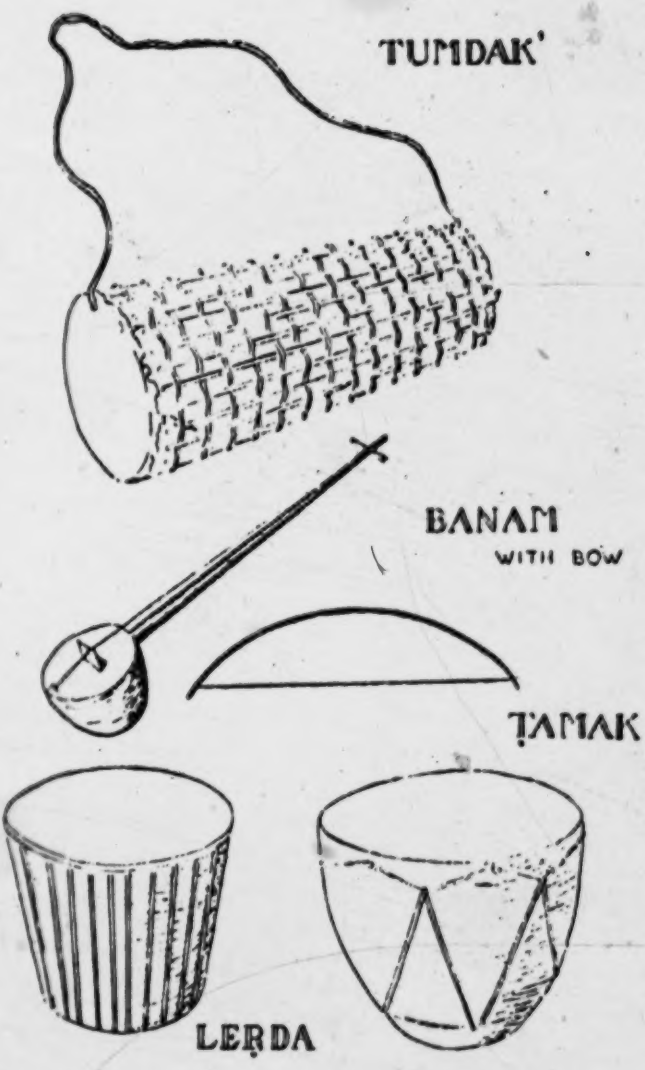
Santal music is largely but not entirely associated with dancing. The Santals are a musical people and find in music an outlet for the emotional and imaginative sides of their nature. From an early age boys begin to play on a whistle, the high and plaintive notes of which can be heard coming from the fields and woods as the boys tend the herds. Later most of them become proficient in playing the flute. The name *tirio* is used to denote different kinds of flute as well as the boys' whistle. Flutes contain six holes, and the usual type is the true flute that is held to one side—the instrument associated with Krishna in Hindu mythology. Some are beautifully made. One man playing at Sarenga during the Lakshmi Puja had a beautiful specimen; at the higher end there was a brass figure of Krishna playing the flute, while at the other end there was mounted a brass dove. Another type is shaped like an inverted T, the air being blown into the base of the T, while the arms,

[1] Bodding's *Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 331, lists thirty-one dances.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 43]

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

• 534



St Culshaw : M-S (1892-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

which are longer than the base, contain the finger-holes. Another instrument in the use of which many of the men are proficient is the *banam*,[1] a one-string fiddle. The bowl is hollowed out from a piece of wood or formed sometimes from half a coconut, and it is usually covered with goat skin, though occasionally there are specimens covered with monkey skin, which is prized for the purpose. The bowl is pressed against the player's armpit and the bow is drawn across the string with the right hand, while the fingers of the left hand depress the string at the required point. The string of the fiddle is in these days generally a metal wire. The whole instrument is about eighteen inches long. It is a difficult instrument from which to produce a melody, and it is therefore used chiefly to accompany men's songs with a somewhat monotonous form of "seconds".

The most conspicuous of the musical instruments of the Santals, both for size and volume of sound, are the drums. The two kinds in common use are played together. They are known as the *tumdak'* and the *ṭamak*.[2] They are beaten at dances by the younger men, who drum and leap about in front of the lines of dancing women and girls. The *tumdak'* is made of burnt clay and is somewhat conical in shape. The narrow end is usually covered with goat skin and the wide end with bullock hide. These end coverings are kept in place by narrow leather strips running the length of the drum, and other strips are wound round the drum. It is suspended by thongs from the shoulders of the youth who is playing it. He beats out the main rhythm with his right hand on the narrow end, and the left hand beats a deeper note on the broad end to punctuate the bars. The *ṭamak* is a kettle-drum made of iron in the shape of a bowl and covered with bullock hide. In addition to being used as an accompaniment for the *tumdak'*, it is also the hunting drum. It is slung from the shoulders of the player and beaten with a pair of sticks. A variant of the *ṭamak* is the *leṛda*,[3] which has a flat bottom. The *ḍhāk*[4] is a large long drum hollowed out of wood. This drum is in popular use at weddings and also at large dancing gatherings. It has to be carried by two men and is slung from a bamboo pole which they carry on their shoulders. It is the reverberations of this drum which can be heard throughout the surrounding countryside.

With the exception of the *sarpa* and the cymbals, women do

[1] See illustration opposite.
[2] See illustration opposite.
[3] See illustration opposite.
[4] See illustration next page.

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

not learn to play any of these instruments. Young girls may be seen sometimes trying out their brothers' instruments, but they put them away with childish things. Their singing is, however, their peculiar glory. Not only do they sing while dancing, but on many other occasions. As the women of a village return home in the evening from their visit to the weekly market or after a day of gathering leaves in the forest, their high- and soft-toned singing can be heard coming over the fields. During the transplantation of the rice seedlings they sing as they bend over their task. Their songs during this activity are of a special class known as *hephet'*, a word which means the plucking of the seedlings and weeding. Men also sing, and when one is narrating the traditions of the tribe or relating a story he will often break into song to illustrate a point or amplify the story. Santal melodies are as a rule pitched high and in a minor key. The range of the tunes is meagre and rarely makes use of more than three or four different notes in the scale. One unfailing characteristic is a long-drawn-out succession of repeated single notes at the end of each line. Nevertheless, they afford scope for the expression of the dominant emotions experienced by the Santals, whose devotion to dancing and song has developed among them a high degree of musical aptitude. In order that they may easily and quickly memorize the great number of different rhythms with which they have to be familiar, they have invented a series of mnemonics which they repeat at the opening of a dance or a song. One example of such mnemonics, associated with the *doṅ* dances, is as follows:[1]

"Bhendaṅ netaṅ | dak' taṅ netaṅ | din dupuṅ | din dupuṅ—
bhendaṅ netaṅ | dak' taṅ netaṅ | dak' dupuṅ | dak' dupuṅ."

[1] Bodding's *Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 112.